

AFRICANS IN THE COLONIAL AMERICAS

AN EXHIBITION OF
BOOKS AND PRINTS

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1970



I - AFRICAN PRESENCE

1. Alvise Cá da Mosto. ... Itineribus Ad Terres Incognitas. Venice, 1515.

The first published account of direct European contact with black Africa is contained in this book by a Venetian merchant who sailed to Senegal with Portuguese expeditions in 1455 and 1456. The account first appeared in the collection Paesi Novamente Retrovati in 1507. The volume shown here appears to be its first separate printing.

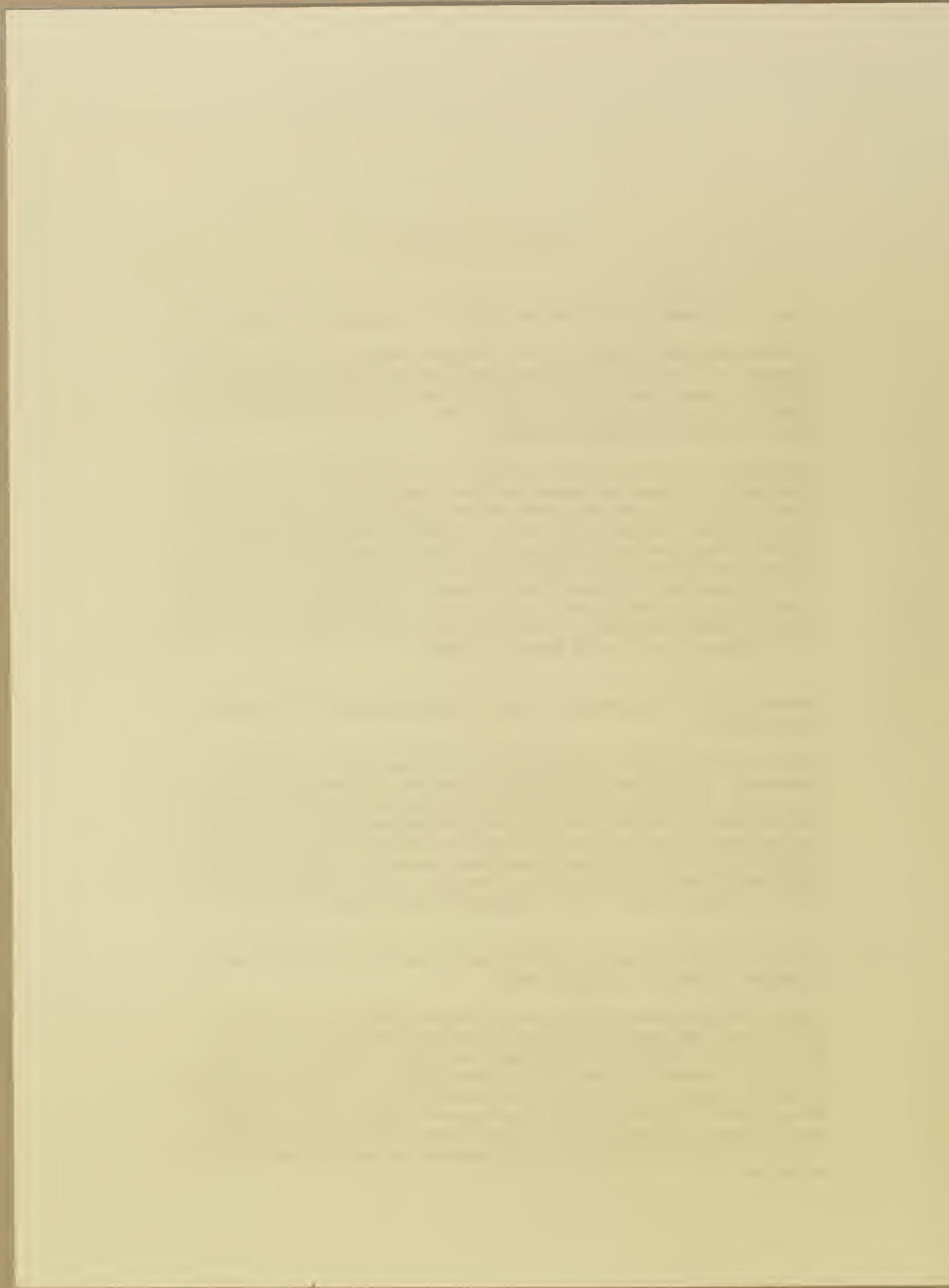
Although Africa was still "terra incognita," a number of motifs which became familiar in later centuries had already appeared by 1455. In Cá da Mosto's vocabulary the Senegalese are the "negri," the blacks. He described the fierce natives of the Canary Islands, already being taken as captive slaves to Portugal. During Cá da Mosto's travels, which took him well into the interior, his dealings with the slaveholding class of Africans were conducted with the ease of social equals. Although slavery in Africa existed on a scale yet unknown to Europeans, Cá da Mosto accepted the inequality of social conditions in Africa as part of the normal order of things, not so different from what he knew in Europe.

2. Johann Boemus. The Manners, Lawes, And Customes Of All Nations. London, 1611.

Africa had been a land of mythological and strange people to medieval Europeans. In this book, the English translation of a work which first appeared in Latin in 1520, information about African people seems to be derived from the oldest medieval legends as well as from accounts by recent explorers. Although this book has been called the first attempt at scientific ethnology, that Englishmen were reading it virtually unchanged ninety years after its first publication suggests that a century of contact with Africa had not done much to enlighten Europe about Africans.

3. Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi. Istoria Descrittione De' Tre Regni Congo, Matamba, Et Angola. Milano, 1690.

Not until Capuchin missionaries went among the people of the kingdoms of the Congo, Matamba, and Angola in the late seventeenth century did Europeans with sympathy for the people and with a willingness to make the effort to understand them come to know Africa. This work by Cavazzi, an Italian Capuchin, is one of several published before 1700 by members of that order. Cavazzi travelled to areas not visited by other Europeans until the late nineteenth century. Later writers such as Jean Baptiste Labat utilized his descriptions, which became the basis for later knowledge of Africa.



4. William Snelgrave. A New Account Of some Parts of Guinea, And the Slave-Trade. London, 1734.

The way in which most Europeans thought of Africans and dealt with them during the colonial period was as slaves. An account such as this one by the captain of a slave ship and agent for the Royal African Company tells a great deal about how Englishmen of the commercial middle class felt about Africans. Snelgrave dealt with the king of Dahomey and other slave-holders as shopkeeper to shopkeeper. Slaves were cargo.

5. Christian George Andres Oldendorp. Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den Caraibischen Inseln S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan. Barby, 1777.

Sometimes Africans of the slaveholding class were themselves made slaves by Europeans. When this happened, the newly-made slave suffered an especially severe cultural shock. A case such as this was recorded by Christian Oldendorp, a German Moravian missionary who went to the Danish Virgin Island of Saint Thomas. A slave woman scornfully told her mistress: "I was greater in Guinea than you are. I had many more slaves than you have. Now you expect me to be your slave; I would rather starve to death." And the determined woman refused to eat and did indeed die.

6. Antonio Vieira. Sermoens, v. 14. Lisbon, 1710.

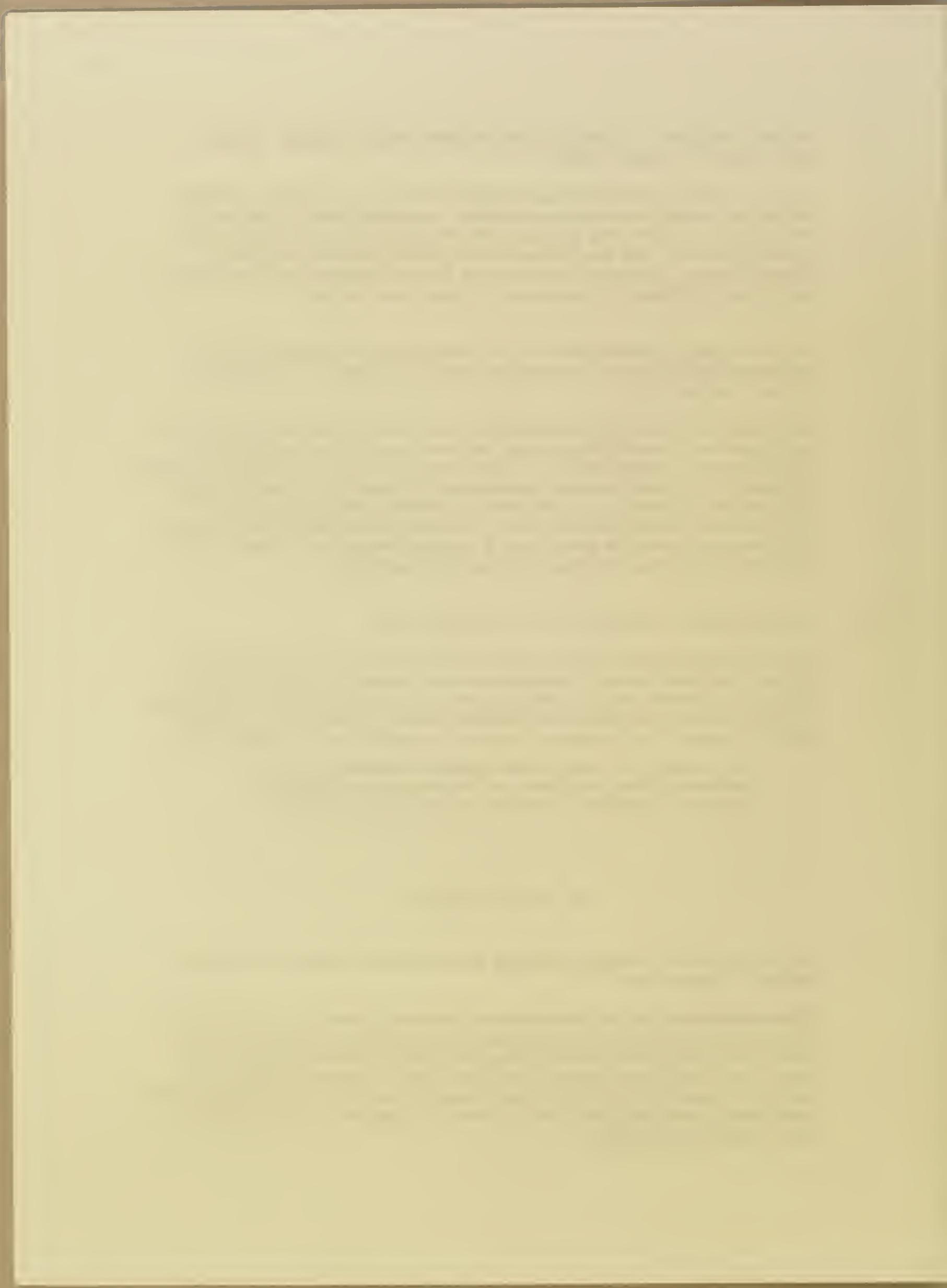
The Jesuit Vieira (1608-1697) was one of the great moral and intellectual figures of colonial Brazil. The grandson of a mulatto, he rose to prominence as a defender of the rights of Indians. In a sermon delivered at Bahia in 1695, Vieira described (in the passage shown) the importance of black slaves in Brazil. In Professor C.R. Boxer's translation the passage reads:

the Kingdom of Angola on the opposite Ethiopian shore, by
whose sad blood, and black but fortunate souls, Brazil is
nurtured, animated, sustained, served and preserved.

II - SLAVE TRADE

7. An Answer Of The Company Of Royal Adventurers Of England Trading Into Africa. London, 1667.

The establishment of vast plantations in Barbados, Jamaica, and other West Indian islands as well as the agricultural development of Virginia and the Carolinas resulted in a steadily rising demand for slaves by English colonists. Until 1667 these demands had been filled by private traders; this pamphlet claims that 400 ships a year sailed for slaves. In 1667 the English established a company under royal charter to organize the trade under a state-supported monopoly.



8. Juan de Villalobos. *Manifiesto Que A Su Magestad... Sobre La Introduccion De Esclavos Negros en las Indias Occidentales.* Seville, 1682.

Until 1685 Spain obtained slaves for her colonies through asientos--private contracts between the Spanish monarch and individual traders. Throughout the seventeenth century illicit competition, especially of the English and the Dutch, grew and undercut the effectiveness of royal control over the Spanish system. In the appeal shown here, a Spanish merchant asks the Crown to support the crumbling slave-import establishment and keep foreigners out of the Indies. In 1685, however, King Charles II signed an asiento with Dutch merchants.

9. Spain. Treaty. *Assiento Ajustado Entre Las Dos Magestades, Catholica, Y Christianissima.* [Paris, 1703]

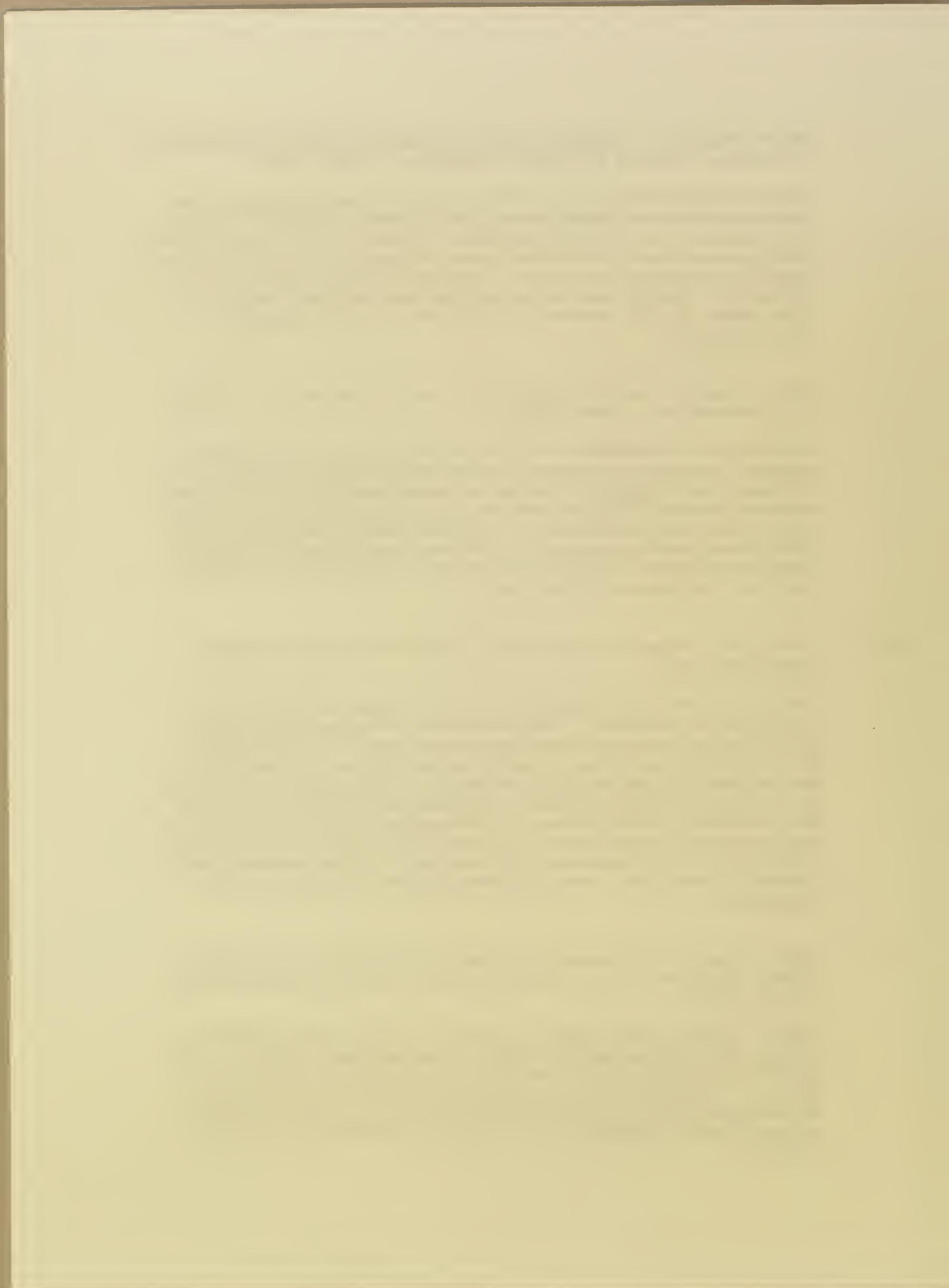
At the end of the seventeenth and during the early years of the eighteenth centuries, the Dutch, the French, and the English fought for the prize of the Spanish king's asiento. This was a struggle among nations, not between individual traders. Only control of the silver mines of the New World was more coveted than the slave trade. Wars were fought among nations aspiring to mercantile supremacy. In 1703 the French obtained the asiento. This printed version of the treaty between the French and the Spanish is very rare. We know of no other copy.

10. *Journal D'Un Voyage Sur Les Costes D'Afrique Et Aux Indes D'Espagne.* Amsterdam, 1723.

The author of this journal seems to have been an agent for the French "Compagnie de l'assiento." When he sailed in a company ship to Guinea in 1702, the slave trade had just opened to the French, who anticipated great profit from the voyage. The ship sailed to Africa, obtained slaves, and then went on to Buenos Aires and Brazil. This passage to America was beset by many problems including a conspiracy below deck. When slaves died, the author worried that he--and the company--might lose money. By setting down daily occurrences in a business-like fashion, the author helps create a more vivid impression of the horrors of "middle passage" than is conveyed by some later, more lurid works issued for reasons of social propaganda.

11. Spain. Treaty. *The Assiento; Or Contract For Allowing to the Subjects of Great Britain the Liberty of Importing Negroes into the Spanish America.* London, 1713.

In 1713, by terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, the French relinquished the asiento, which the Spanish king, Philip V, then assigned to England. After obtaining the asiento, England became the dominant slave trading nation of Europe. In the eighteenth century the trade in slaves became not only a fundamental aspect of the British colonial system, but also an important portion of British commerce and an integral part of the British financial structure.



12. Ingevolge van het Geconvenieerde... [Amsterdam, 1713]

The Spanish developed a system of standard measurement for the slave trade known as the Pieza de India, "piece of the Indies," which was a Negro from fifteen to twenty-five years old. Three slightly younger (8-15) or three slightly older (25-35) Negroes qualified as two Piezas. Two very young or two older (35-45) Negroes counted as one Pieza. This measurement system was used by all slave trading nations. In the two versions of the Dutch contract shown here, merchants agree to supply a specified number of "Pezos d'Indias" to Surinam for a set fee.

III - CONDITION OF SERVITUDE

13. France. Code Noir. Paris, 1735.

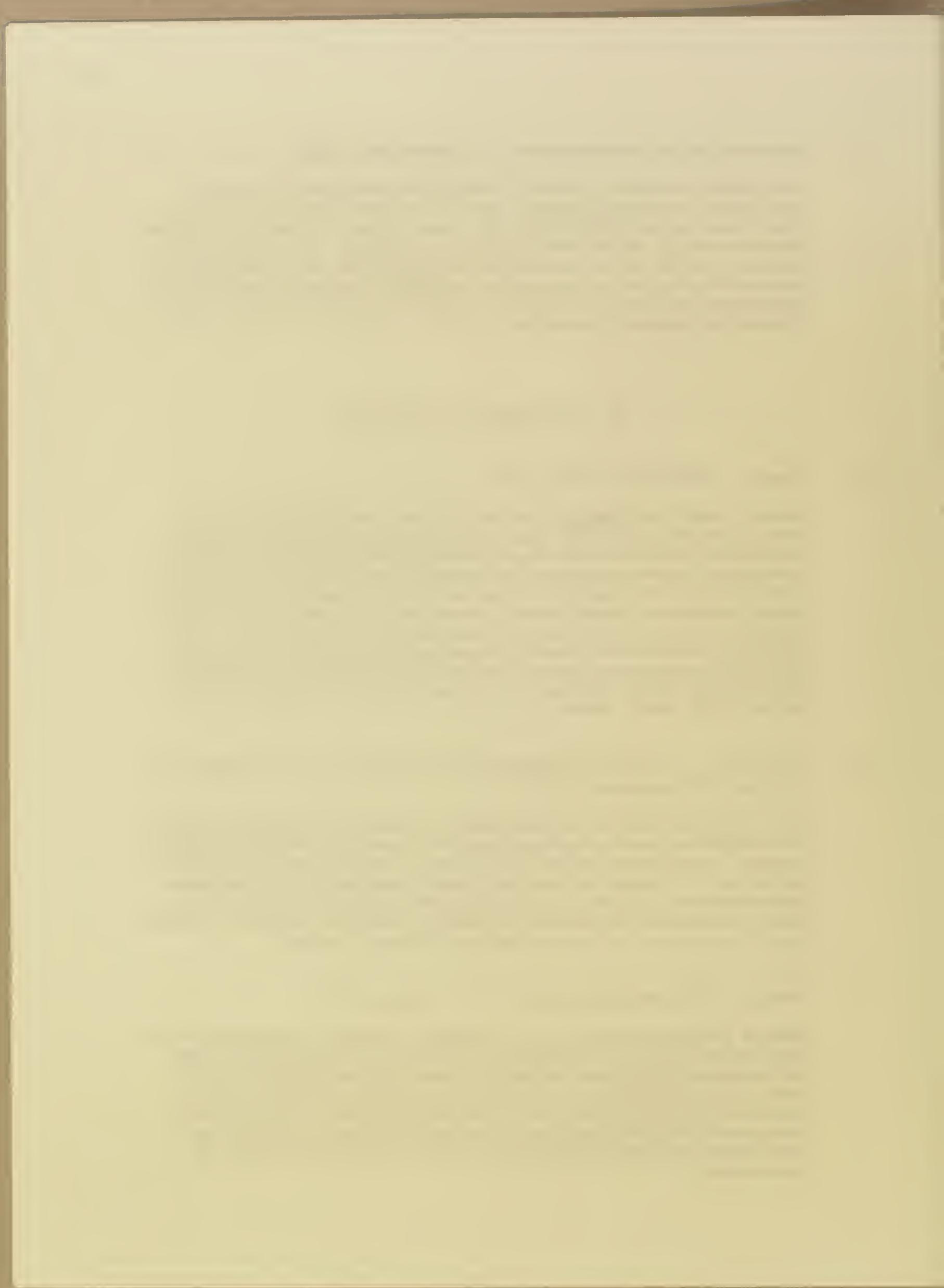
Issued in 1685, the Code Noir was the basic law governing slaves in the French colonies in America. Slave law represents the effort of a society to establish within it a class of men who are treated as property. The law is designed to provide measures for containing this class of men--slaves--within the limits of property. Normal property law has only to deal with attempts of others to remove property; slave law had to deal with the natural tendency of slaves to try to become something other than property. In the Code Noir the absolutist Louis XIV showed some regard for the humanity of slaves by declaring at the beginning that all slaves should be instructed in the Catholic faith. By doing so he included them in the rights and obligations of all Catholic souls.

14. John Mercer. An Exact Abridgment Of all the Public Acts of Assembly, Of Virginia. Williamsburg, 1787.

Slave codes were directed at slaveholders who were told in them what their responsibilities were in regulating their own slaves in a socially acceptable manner. In the English colonies the elected assemblies were dominated by slaveholders. Through the laws they passed, members of this class were able to maintain a system of private tyrannies conceived to be in the community interest and could muster the power of the entire community to maintain the tyrannies of any man among them who was threatened.

15. Jamaica. The Consolidated Slave Law. Jamaica, 1827.

Perhaps because of the time, or of the place, these laws, passed only seven years before slavery was abolished in Jamaica, are more concerned with the obligations of the owner toward his slaves than were similar laws in force in the United States. According to the preface, this slave code was intended to remove all doubt "of the sincere disposition...to grant every indulgence to the slave which can be conceded with safety, or which may be consistent with that indispensable coercion necessary to enforce all human labour."



16. Charles de Rochefort. *Histoire Naturelle Et Morale Des Isles Antilles de l'Amerique.* Rotterdam, 1665.

The large cash crop of the West Indies in the seventeenth century was sugar. It is generally calculated that two slaves were needed to cultivate each acre of land planted in sugar. Large plantations were considered those with more than sixty slaves, small planters--the vast majority on most islands--would have not much more than ten acres of land and fewer than twenty slaves.

We show an engraving illustrating the sugar refining on a plantation. When this plate was made, the refining process had been but recently developed, and sugar exports to Europe were at a profitable high.

17. William Tatham. *An Historical And Practical Essay On The Culture and Commerce of Tobacco.* London, 1800.

The tobacco industry was based on Negro slavery. When William Tatham dealt with the subject of slaves in his chapter "Of the Crop Master, Overseer, and Hands; and of their respective shares, functions, and privileges," he was noticeably uncomfortable. Although Tatham argues "that the mitigated condition of their present shackles, renders the name of the thing more horrible than the restraint," he ends the chapter: "Happily for myself, I neither am, nor ever shall be, a slave-holder." We show a plate depicting the Tobacco House.

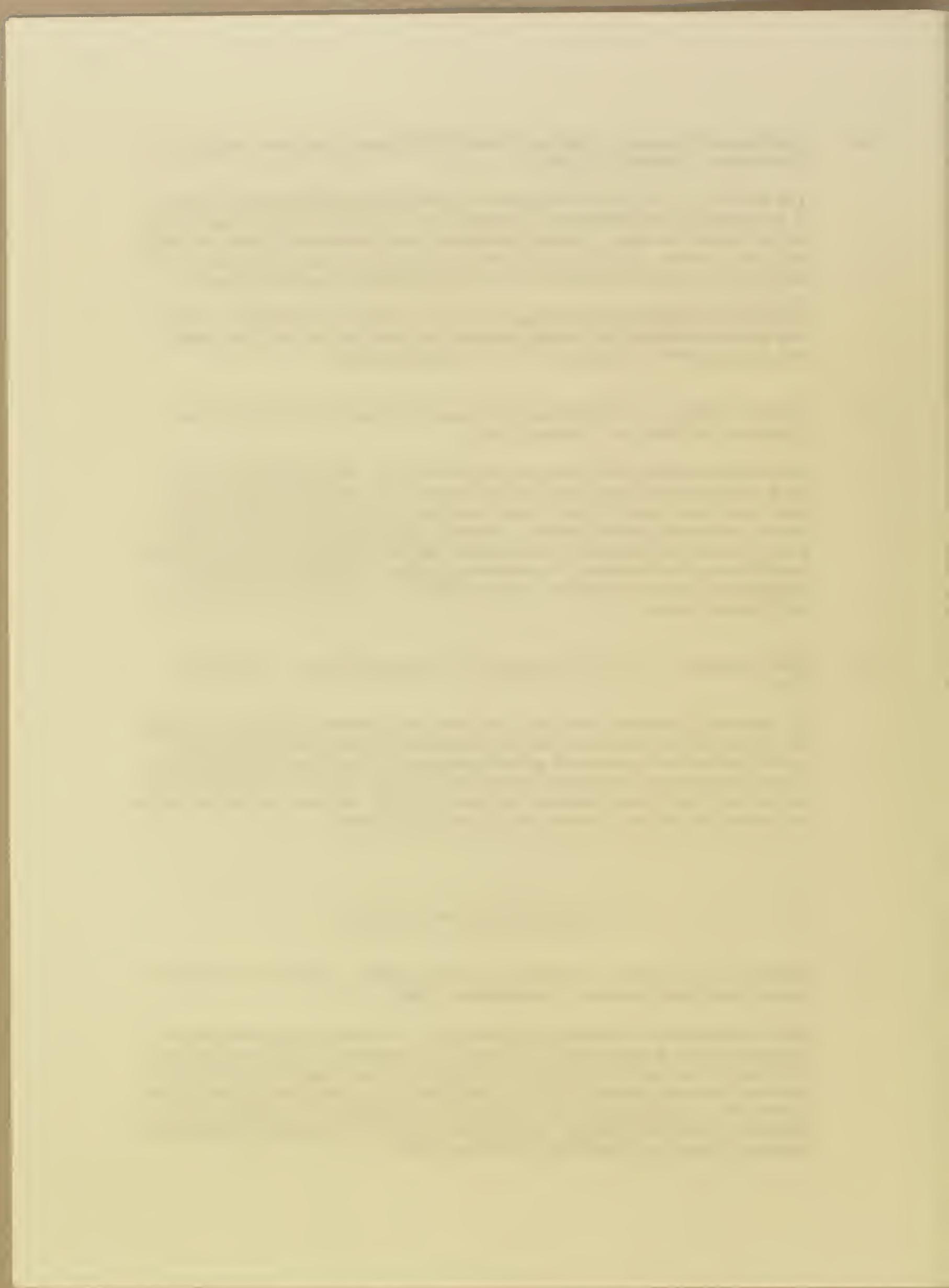
18. Elie Monnereau. *Le Parfait Indigotier.* Nouvelle Edition. Amsterdam, 1765.

An important plantation crop until well into the eighteenth century was indigo. Slavery on indigo plantations had the reputation of being particularly harsh. In the preface to this book the author apologizes to anyone who thinks that he is unfair to Negroes because he speaks only of their vices. I know that the blacks have many good qualities, he says in effect, but what my student wants to know is how to get the most work done by his slaves.

IV - NARRATIVES OF SLAVERY

19. Heinrich von Uchteritz. *Kurtze Reise Beschreibung... Sclaverey verkaufft, und auff der Insel Barbados.* Schlesswig, 1666.

This narrative is of a German nobleman who, as a young man, went to Scotland and served in the armies of Charles II. Captured in 1650, he was sent to Barbados and sold into slavery. Eventually he was bought from his owner by some German merchants and returned home to publish this account of his adventures. Unfortunately Von Uchteritz's description of his fellow slaves--who were Africans--is brief. The engraving on the title-page illustrates their worship of what Von Uchteritz took to be a devil.



20. [John Watts] A True Relation Of The Inhumane and Unparallel'd Actions, And Barbarous Murders Of Negroes or Moors: Committed on three English-men in Old Calabar in Guinny. London, 1672.

In 1668 the young author of this pamphlet was taken into slavery by the same Africans from whom his ship had just bought slaves. As the strident title of the pamphlet suggests, the author's three-year experience did not result in awareness of the irony nor of the justice of what had happened to him. Watts did, however, produce an unusual description of the life of a slave in Africa. He published it the year that the Royal African Company was founded.

21. Thomas Bluett. Some Memoirs Of The Life of Job, the Son of Solomon The High Priest of Boonda in Africa; Who was a Slave about two Years in Maryland. London, 1734.

This is the account of a young warrior named Job, who, upon returning from a mission to sell two slaves to an English ship, was himself taken by rivals who sold him into slavery. Job was not accustomed to labor and, shortly after arriving in Maryland, ran away. When he was found, it was perceived "by his affable carriage, and the easy composure of his countenance...he was no common slave." Fortunately, everyone concerned, including his former owner and the Royal African Company, cooperated to get him home "where [says Bluett] we hope he is safely arrived to the great Joy of his Friends, and the Honour of the English Nation."

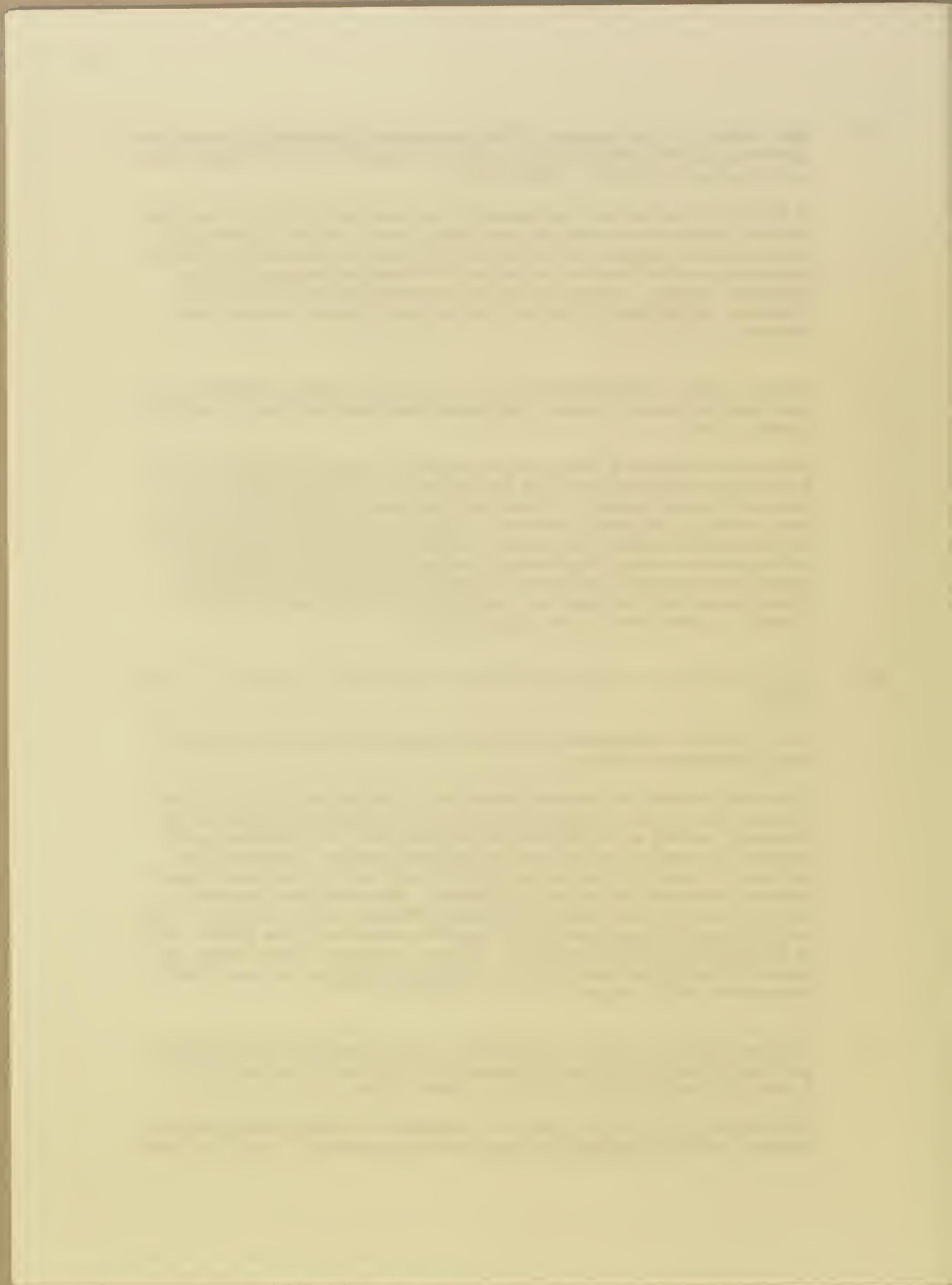
22. The Royal African: Or Memoirs Of The Young Prince of Annamaboe. London [1749]

In 1749 London acclaimed the arrival of a young African prince who had suffered a strange turn of fate.

The prince's father had become friendly with a British sea-captain and had entrusted his son to the captain, who was to carry the boy to England to be educated. As soon as the ship had lost sight of land, the perfidious captain enslaved the youth and sold him in the Barbados instead. Fortunately the captain died shortly thereafter and officers under him who had been shamed by the act arranged for the prince's release. When the prince arrived in London, this memoir telling his story was published, and in February, 1749, the Gentleman's Magazine told of the prince's attendance at the theatre, where he was applauded by the spectators. He later published a poetic letter, addressed to his father, described by the Monthly Review as "a heroic epistle, attempted in Ovid's manner."

23. "A Speech made by a Black of Gardaloupe, at the Funeral of a Fellow-Negro" in A Letter From A Merchant at Jamaica To A Member of Parliament in London Touching the African Trade. London, 1709.

This speech by an anonymous black of Guadeloupe is a bitter denunciation of slavery. He turns Christian doctrine on the slave owners: "Thus, our Lords



who call themselves white-men and Christians, led by their Avarice and Luxury, commit the blackest Crimes without a Blush, and wickedly subvert the Laws of Nature and the Order of Creation." It is interesting that at this early date a merchant at Jamaica concerned with the "just Rights and Liberties of Mankind" should arrange to have this speech published in London.

24. Olaudah Equiano. *The Interesting Narrative Of The Life Of... Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, The African, Written By Himself.* The eighth edition. Norwich, 1794.

Olaudah Equiano was taken a slave from Guinea at age eleven and for the next thirty years worked for various owners as an enslaved sailor.

At one point Equiano relates arriving at Montserrat in 1763.

"At the sight of this land of bondage, a fresh horror ran through all my frame, and chilled me to the heart. My former slavery now rose in dreadful review to my mind, and displayed nothing but misery, stripes, and chains..."

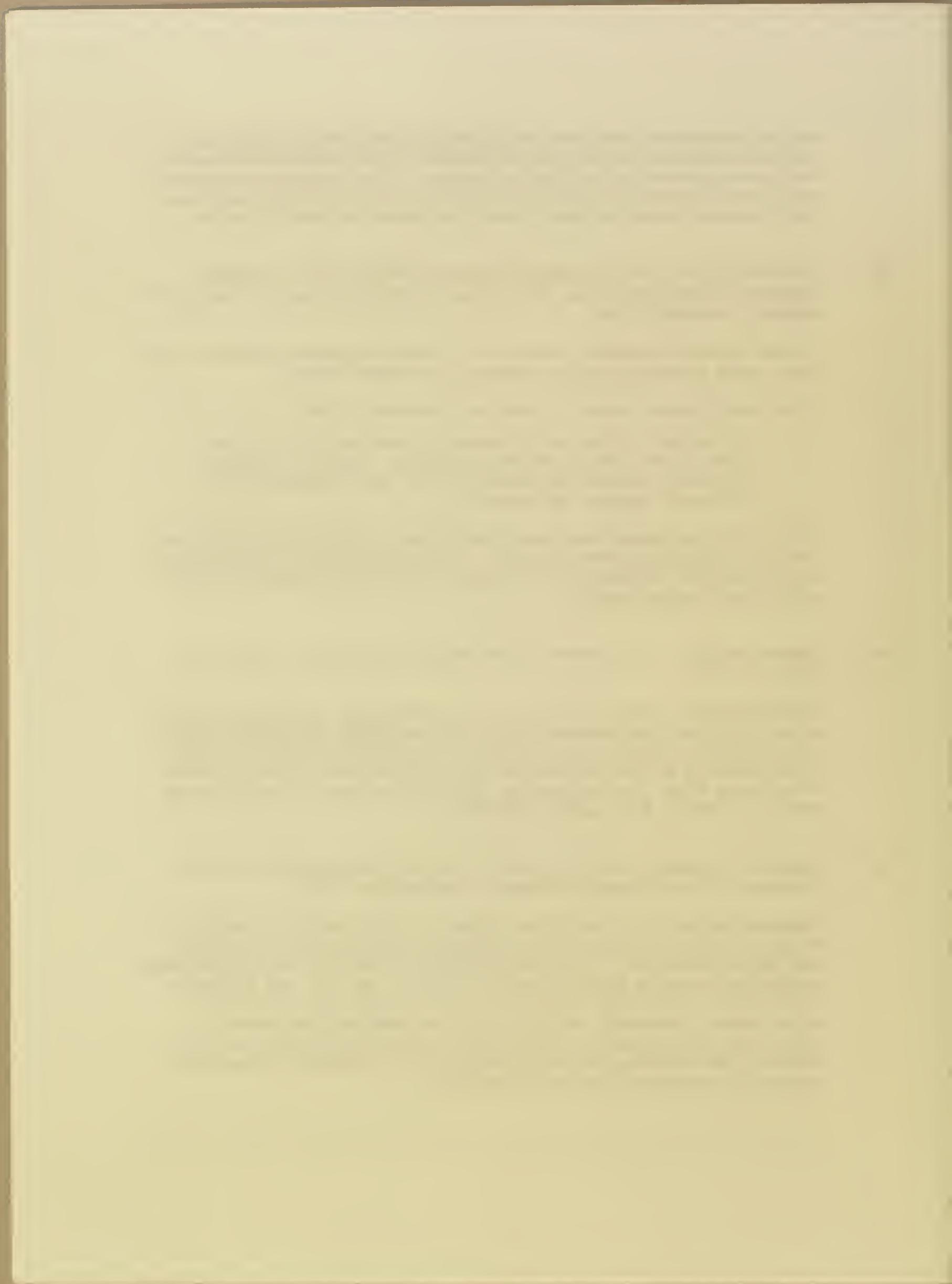
After he had his manumission from Robert King, a Philadelphia Quaker, he settled in England and wrote this book. As ten editions of it were published, all "Printed For, And Sold By The Author," we may hope that the book supported him in some comfort.

25. Jupiter Hammon. *An Address To The Negroes In the State of New-York.* New York, 1787.

Jupiter Hammon, a black slave of a Long Island family, had literary talent; a poem of his had been printed in 1760. In this Address he interprets Christian doctrine in a pacific way, exhorting his brethren to obedience, saying: "Now whether it is right, and lawful, in the sight of God, for them to make slaves of us or not, I am certain that while we are slaves, it is our duty to obey our masters, in all lawful commands..."

26. Benjamin Banneker. *Copy Of A Letter From Benjamin Banneker, To The Secretary Of State [Thomas Jefferson].* Philadelphia, 1792.

Benjamin Banneker, the son of free Negroes, was the author of a series of almanacs published at the end of the eighteenth century and was known as the "Negro Philosopher." In writing to Jefferson, Banneker recalls Jefferson's ringing words against English tyranny and says: "But, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of Mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of these rights and privileges, which he hath conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren..."



V - REVOLT AGAINST SERVITUDE

27. Great Newes From The Barbadoes. Or, A True and Faithful Account Of The Grand Conspiracy Of The Negroes against the English. London, 1676.

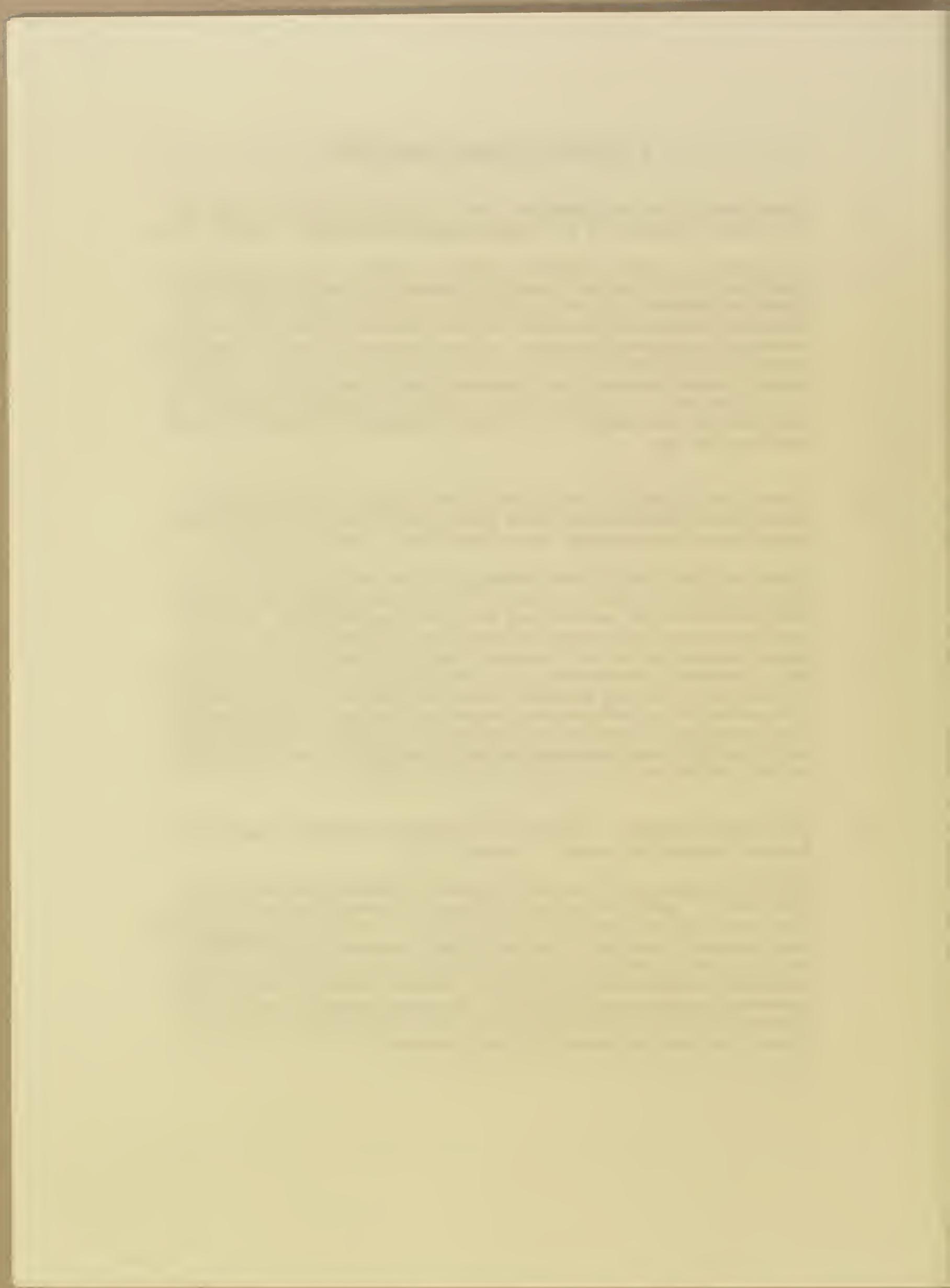
The first slave revolt in Barbados took place in 1649. The conspiracy to revolt reported in this tract occurred a quarter of a century later when the island had become the most agriculturally advanced English colony. The elements contained in this account became standard aspects of almost all subsequent conspiracy literature. A slave, approached by the conspirators, refuses to cooperate and reveals the conspiracy to his master. A judicial inquiry obtains testimony from cooperative blacks that the plotters intend to kill all whites--or all white men; the plotters themselves, however, reveal nothing. The conspirators are then punished for treason in the cruel fashion of the age.

28. [Daniel Horsmanden] A Journal Of The Proceedings In Detection of the Conspiracy Formed By Some White People, in Conjunction with Negro and other Slaves For Burning the City of New-York. New York, 1744.

There is a great deal of doubt whether one of the most famous slave conspiracies even occurred. In March, 1741, several buildings in New York City were set on fire, and Negroes were seen near the blaze. Rumor of conspiracy spread and reinforced itself with considerable speed. The judicial investigation into the conspiracy implicated nearly two hundred people. Fortunately Horsmanden did not have the time to sift and evaluate all of the evidence that was presented at the investigation and so he published a record of the proceedings with a minimum of editing. This has enabled later generations to evaluate the evidence and reveals to us how great the fear of rebellion must have been that such contradictory and undependable evidence should have caused such a violent reaction.

29. John Gabriel Stedman. Narrative of a five years' expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam. London, 1796.

One of the longest slave rebellions occurred in Surinam and lasted from 1772 to 1777. John Stedman was an officer in a Scots brigade of the Dutch army sent to Surinam to suppress the rebellion. Stedman's Narrative opens as an account of adventure in an exotic land. However, Dutch attempts to terrorize their slaves into submission offended his sensibilities, and as the blacks' courage won his admiration, Stedman turned his narrative into a powerful condemnation of slavery. His own sympathetic concern for the humanity of blacks coincided with the growth of the abolition movement in Europe, and this book appeared in many editions.



30. Jamaica. The Proceedings Of The Governor and Assembly of Jamaica, In Regard To The Maroon Negroes. London, 1796.

When the English invaded Jamaica and took it from the Spanish in 1655, the slaves of the Spanish fled to the hills. Living wild but free, they became known as "Maroons." Fighting between the English and the Maroons continued sporadically for over a century. In 1795 the Maroons, trying to incite a slave rebellion, raided plantations. The English blocked the revolt in its early stages. The Maroons were then transported to Nova Scotia where they were given land. There, however, they failed to adapt to the harsh northern climate so the English carried them to Africa.

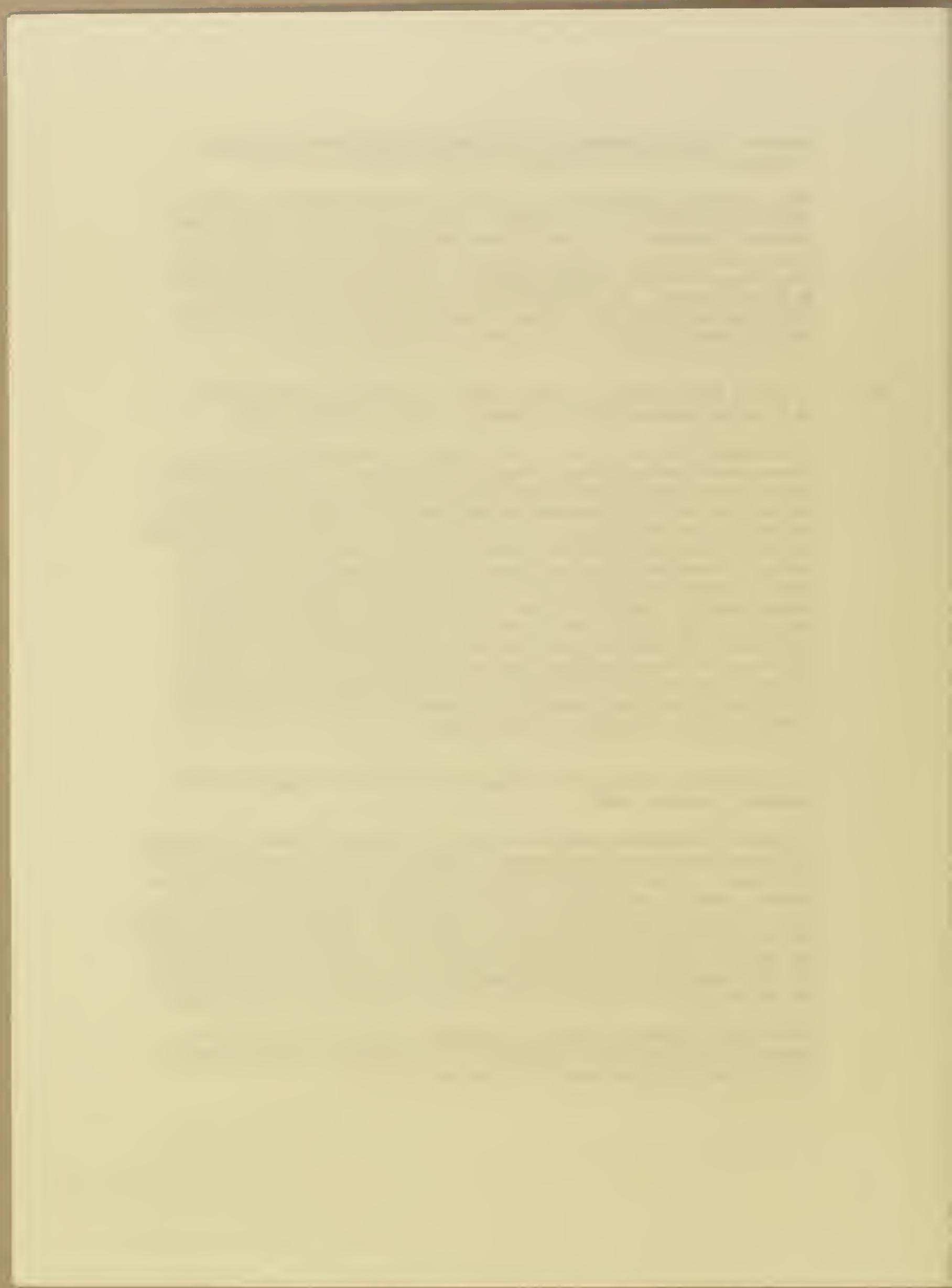
31. Traité De Paix, Entre les Citoyens Blancs & les Citoyens De Couleur... de la partie française de Saint-Domingue. Port-au-Prince, 1791.

The equality promised by the French Revolution affected the society of French Santo Domingo (today's Haiti) in different ways. To the established white planter class, equality meant political representation in France. To the large number of slaveholding mulatto planters, equality meant obtaining the political and social status of the white planters. And for the black slaves, who had no rights at all, equality meant freedom of person. In 1791 the mulatto slaveholding class was granted political rights by the French National Assembly (see Wall Panel 4), but white planters opposed this nod toward equality. Later in the same year the slaves rebelled. Trying to bring the situation under control, white and mulatto planters made peace in October. We show the treaty that was prepared and printed in Haiti. This is one of several hundred pieces on the Haitian revolution, collected and bound together by a Frenchman at that time, which reflect the chaos through which the island passed before Toussaint l'Ouverture emerged as a leader capable of bringing order and peace.

32. [Louis Dubrocca] Vida De J. J. Dessalines, Gefe De Los Negros De Santo Domingo. Mexico, 1806.

Toussaint l'Ouverture established order in St. Domingo by 1801 and prepared to initiate constitutional government. Napoleon Bonaparte, suspecting such a government, sent an army of 25,000 men to subdue the colonists and restore slavery. Worn by the struggle, the French general proposed a truce, and when L'Ouverture laid down his arms, seized him. Infuriated by the treachery, the blacks of Haiti, led by Jean Jacques Dessalines, resumed the fight, and by November 1803 the French evacuated the island. Dessalines, now governor for life, inaugurated his rule by a massacre of all whites. He then declared himself emperor and ruled so tyrannically that in 1806 he was assassinated.

This Mexican edition of the life of Dessalines contains 10 engravings by Manuel López López which suggest the horror with which Mexicans reacted to the terror of the last stage of the Haitian revolution.



VI - AMELIORATION OF SLAVERY AND CONVERSION OF NEGROES

33. Julien Garces. *De Habilitate Et Capacitate Gentium Sive Indorum novi mundi nūcupati ad fidem Christi.* Rome, 1537.

Early in the sixteenth century Spain confronted the intellectual and moral problems posed by the conquest of a vastly different civilization. In this letter addressed to Pope Paul III, Julien Garces, the Dominican bishop of Tlaxcala in New Spain, argues with power and conviction that the Indians show great intelligence and are "reverent, shy, and obedient to their teachers."

Pope Paul responded to this letter with his bull *Sublima Deus* of June 9, 1537, in which he declared that "...the said Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty..."

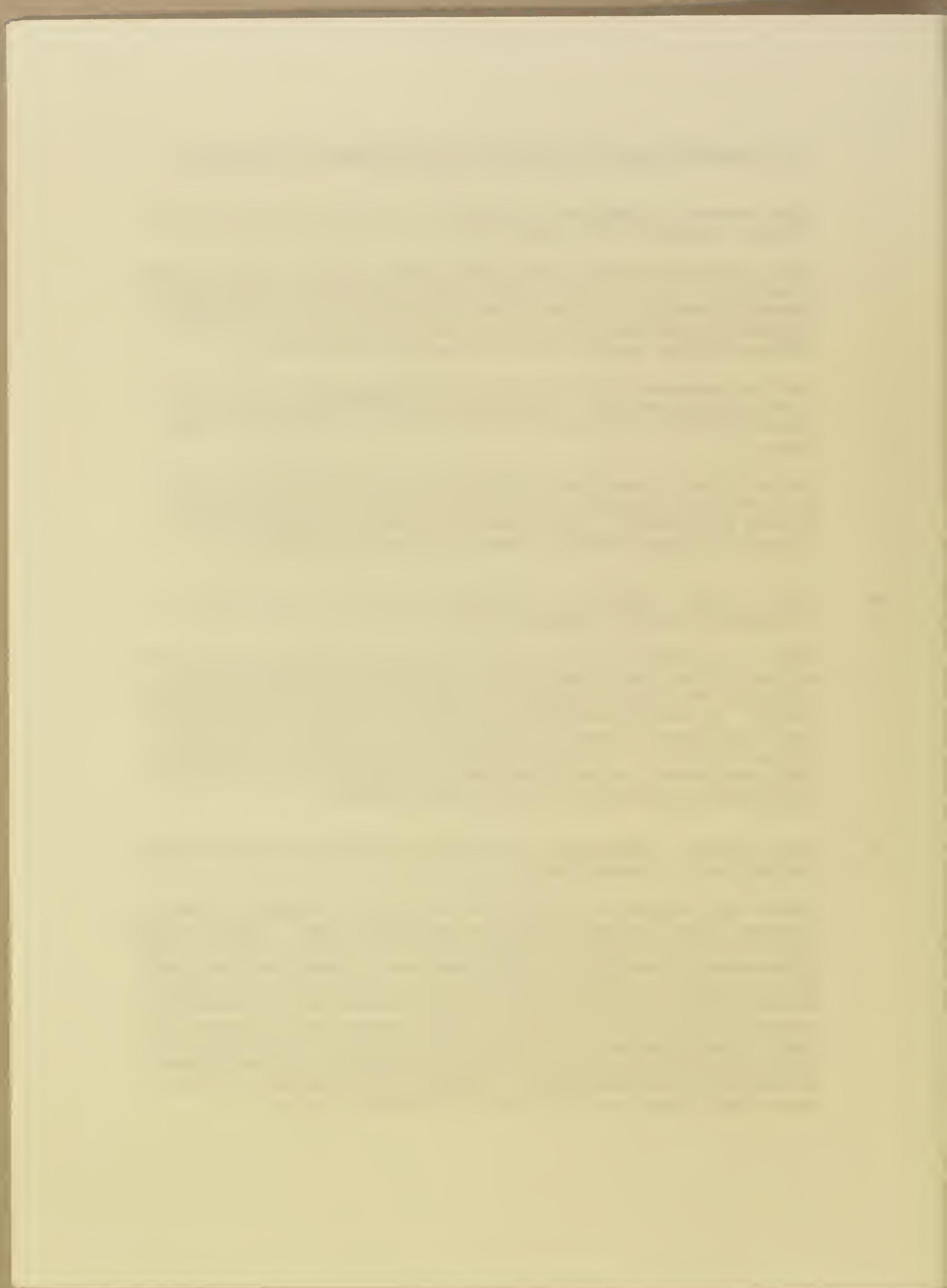
Despite the moral commitments of individual missionaries like Garces and Bartolomé de las Casas and of the Church itself, their intentions were for the most part thwarted. Yet a standard of humanity was established in Catholic Europe that, although eclipsed, was never extinguished.

34. José Fernandez. *Apostolica, Y Penitente Vida De El V. P. Pedro Claver, De La Compañia De Iesus.* Zaragossa, 1666.

This is a biography of San Pedro Claver, known as the "Apostle of the Negroes" for his forty-four years of dedication to relief of the lot of Negro slaves at Cartagena, Venezuela, the leading slave market of America in the seventeenth century. When ships arrived in port, Claver, who had declared himself "the slave of the Negroes forever," went out to them in the pilot's boat carrying food and medicine. He cared for the slaves, and when they were taken to the city's slave market, he went among them and comforted them. He is said to have baptized and instructed more than 300,000 Negroes.

35. Morgan Godwyn. *The Negro's & Indians Advocate, Suing for their Admission into the Church.* London, 1680.

Godwyn was a Virginia-born Anglican whose ministry in Barbados included instructing "Negro's and other Heathen in the Christian Faith." Godwyn's efforts were resisted by the planters. Godwyn noted that the planters "have a strange apprehension and foresight, that their Slaves when admitted Christians, would be apt to expect better usage (which even Heathens will tell them they ought to have without it)..." He argued that "the Negro's (both Slaves and others) have naturally an equal Right with other men to the Exercise and Privileges of Religion." Quaker preachers in the West Indies were taking the same position in the 1670's and 80's and Godwyn quotes the argument of an "officious Quaker" at some length in his introduction. Opposition to the inhumanity of the treatment of black slaves was built up early in the English colonies.



36. Anthony Hill. *Afer Baptizatus: Or, The Negro turn'd Christian.* London, 1702.

The arguments about the natural rights of Negroes which Godwyn and the Friends proposed in the late seventeenth century met fierce resistance from planters. In the early years of the eighteenth century the English Church's approach to evangelism was less spirited. Churchmen like Hill wanted baptised black souls for heaven but refuted arguments that Christianity created a claim to freedom.

The title-page of our copy of the sermon is signed "Wh Kennett." White Kennett, bishop of Peterborough, was one of the original members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

37. George Whitefield. *Three Letters From The Reverend Mr. G. Whitefield.* Philadelphia, B. Franklin, 1740.

George Whitefield, the Methodist preacher whose emotional and fundamentalist evangelism brought on the "Great Awakening" of religious sensibility in the English Colonies, wrote in the third letter of this collection: "I was sensible touched with a Fellow-feeling of the Miseries of the poor Negroes." "Whether it be lawful for Christians to buy slaves... I shall not take upon me to determine," he writes, but "sure I am it is sinful, when bought, to use them as bad, nay worse, than as though they were Brutes."

38. [Thomas Bacon] *Two Sermons, Preached To A Congregation Of Black Slaves...* In the Province of Maryland. London, 1749.

The Church of England found its greatest support in the American colonies precisely in those areas in which the most slaves were found. Its mission to the Negroes was meagre, and its message to them was obedience to a temporal as well as a spiritual master. The sermons of Thomas Bacon were preached to Negroes, but their publication was directed to white slaveholders to reassure them that their slaves were being taught "safe" doctrine. By the 1760's and 70's dissenting preachers to Negroes outnumbered the Anglican clergy, and their egalitarian brand of religion won many converts. On the eve of the American Revolution the tide of dissenting thought was running strongly in favor of abolition while the Anglican idea of religious conversion without elevation was submerged.

39. William Smith. *A Natural History Of Nevis, And the rest of the English Leeward Charibee Islands.* Cambridge, 1745.

William Smith, sometime rector of St. John's at Nevis, represents a prevalent attitude of the Anglican clergy in America. He thought it ridiculous to teach Negroes Christianity. "When a Slave is once Christened, he conceits that he ought to be upon a level with his Master, in all respects..." The effect of the conversion of all Negroes he says "would be a general Rebellion, and Massacre, of us Whites: This is a Truth."



40. Samuel Augustus Mathews. *The Lying Hero Or An Answer To J. B. Moreton's Manners and Customs in the West Indies.* St. Eustatius, 1793.

That the preaching of the gospel was not welcomed by planters is evidenced by the author of this book: "To my certain knowledge no people under the sun could be happier than the negroes in the West Indies, until the Methodist Preachers, those wolves in sheep's cloathing, were sent among them."

VII - ABOLITIONIST IMPULSE

41. John Woolman. *Some Considerations On The Keeping of Negroes.* Philadelphia, 1754.

Two doctrines of the Society of Friends led many Quaker thinkers to be champions of libertarian causes: the doctrines of the inner light and the brotherhood of man. Almost all English antislavery tracts published before 1750 were written by Friends. As a young man the Philadelphia Quaker John Woolman had become convinced of the evil of slavery. His writing and teaching did much to arouse Friendly abolitionist sentiment. The book shown here is his earliest printed work. The journal of his missionary efforts to convert slaveholders was published in 1774 and greatly influenced the abolitionist movement in America and England.

42. [Samuel Hopkins] *A Dialogue Concerning The Slavery Of The Africans; shewing it to be the Duty and Interest of the American Colonies to emancipate all their African Slaves.* Norwich, 1776.

Puritan antislavery thought was more introspective than that of the Quakers. Less concerned about the need for brotherhood, it focused upon the wickedness of the exploiters of slaves. Slave owning was a sin. Samuel Hopkins was minister of the First Congregational Church of Newport, the most active of the slave trading ports in the English colonies. He proposed an end not only to the slave trade but to ownership of slaves as well.

43. Jacob Green. *A Sermon Delivered at Hanover, (in New-Jersey).* April 22d, 1778. Chatham, 1779.

The doctrines of political liberty that emerged with the war for American independence raised the possibility of the extension of the rights of all men. As this sermon asks: "Can it be believed that a people contending for liberty should, at the same time, be promoting and supporting slavery? What foreign nation can believe that we who so loudly complain of Britain's attempts to oppress and enslave us, are, at the same time, voluntarily holding multitudes of fellow creatures in abject slavery?"

This sermon was delivered at Hanover, New Jersey, only five miles from Washington's military headquarters at Morristown. While publication of the sermon was delayed for a year because of paper shortages, its libertarian aspirations were delayed considerably longer due to graver deficiencies.



44. Extract From An Address In The Virginia Gazette, Of March 19, 1767.
By a respectable Member of the Community. [Philadelphia, 1770?]

Montesquieu had questioned the basic legality of slavery in his Spirit of the Laws, a book which had great impact on American thinking. The anonymous Virginian who wrote this tract uses the secular argument of Montesquieu as well as the religious argument of the Golden Rule to make his point in his twice reprinted letter from the Virginia Gazette.

45. St. George Tucker. A Dissertation On Slavery: With A Proposal For The Gradual Abolition Of It, In The State Of Virginia. Philadelphia, 1796.

St. George Tucker delivered this "dissertation" as part of a course of lectures on law at the University of William and Mary. His reason he states: "The Author considering the Abolition of Slavery in this State, as an object of the first importance, not only to our moral character and domestic peace, but even to our political salvation; and being persuaded that the accomplishment of so momentous and desirable an undertaking will in great measure depend upon the early adoption of some plan for that purpose, with diffidence submits to the consideration of his countrymen his ideas on a subject of such consequence."

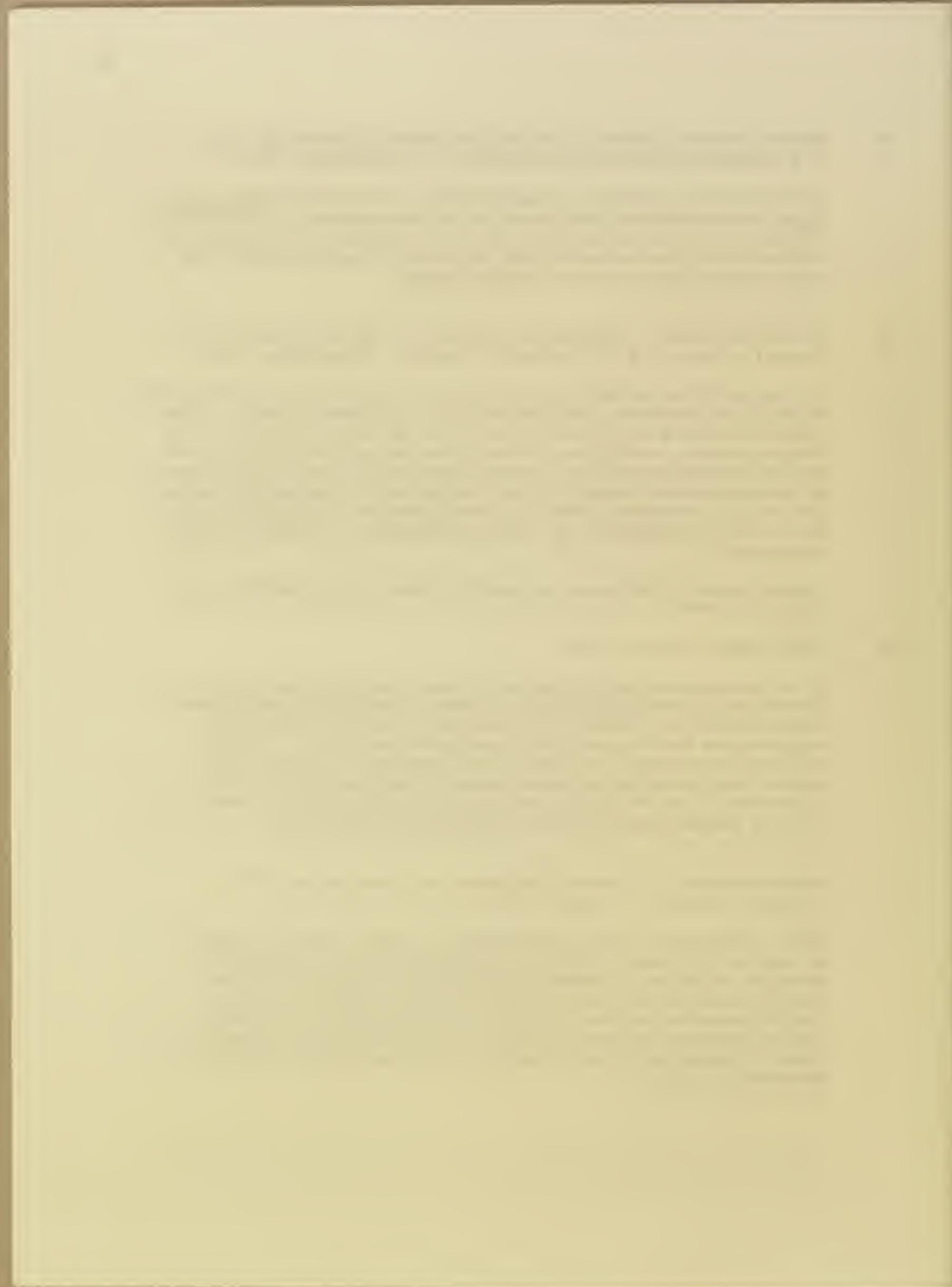
Despite Tucker's clear moral and practical vision, he represented a lost cause in his state.

46. Rhode Island. Laws. 1774.

In the Revolutionary period a number of states, including Rhode Island, passed laws against the importation of slaves. The Rhode Island act took a high moral tone: "Whereas the Inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the Preservation of their own Rights and Liberties... and as those who are desirous of enjoying all the Advantages of Liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal Liberty to others." The "Therefore's" and "Provided's" are less lofty as the act did not extend to Rhode Islanders trading between Africa and the West Indies.

47. Jonathan Boucher. A View Of The Causes And Consequences Of The American Revolution. London, 1797.

Some years after the American Revolution the Loyalist Jonathan Boucher, an Anglican clergyman, published a collection of his pre-Revolutionary writings. In 1763 he had defended the institution of slavery and in the course of doing so articulated a social fact of the American Colonies. "An African slave even when made free, supposing him to be possessed even of talents and of virtue, can never, in these colonies, be quite on terms of equality with a free white man. Nature has placed insuperable barriers in his way."



48. Sierra Leone Company. Substance Of The Report Delivered By The Court Of Directors Of The Sierra Leone Company. Philadelphia, 1795.

The Sierra Leone Company was an effort sponsored by English abolitionists to establish a colony for freed slaves on the African coast. The plan met with enthusiasm among abolitionists in the United States as it appeared to offer a means by which the onus of slavery could be removed from this country without having to incorporate a free black population into the body politic and social.

49. Great Britain. House of Commons. An Abstract Of The Evidence Delivered Before A Select Committee Of The House of Commons...On The Part Of The Petitioners For The Abolition Of The Slave-Trade. London, 1791.

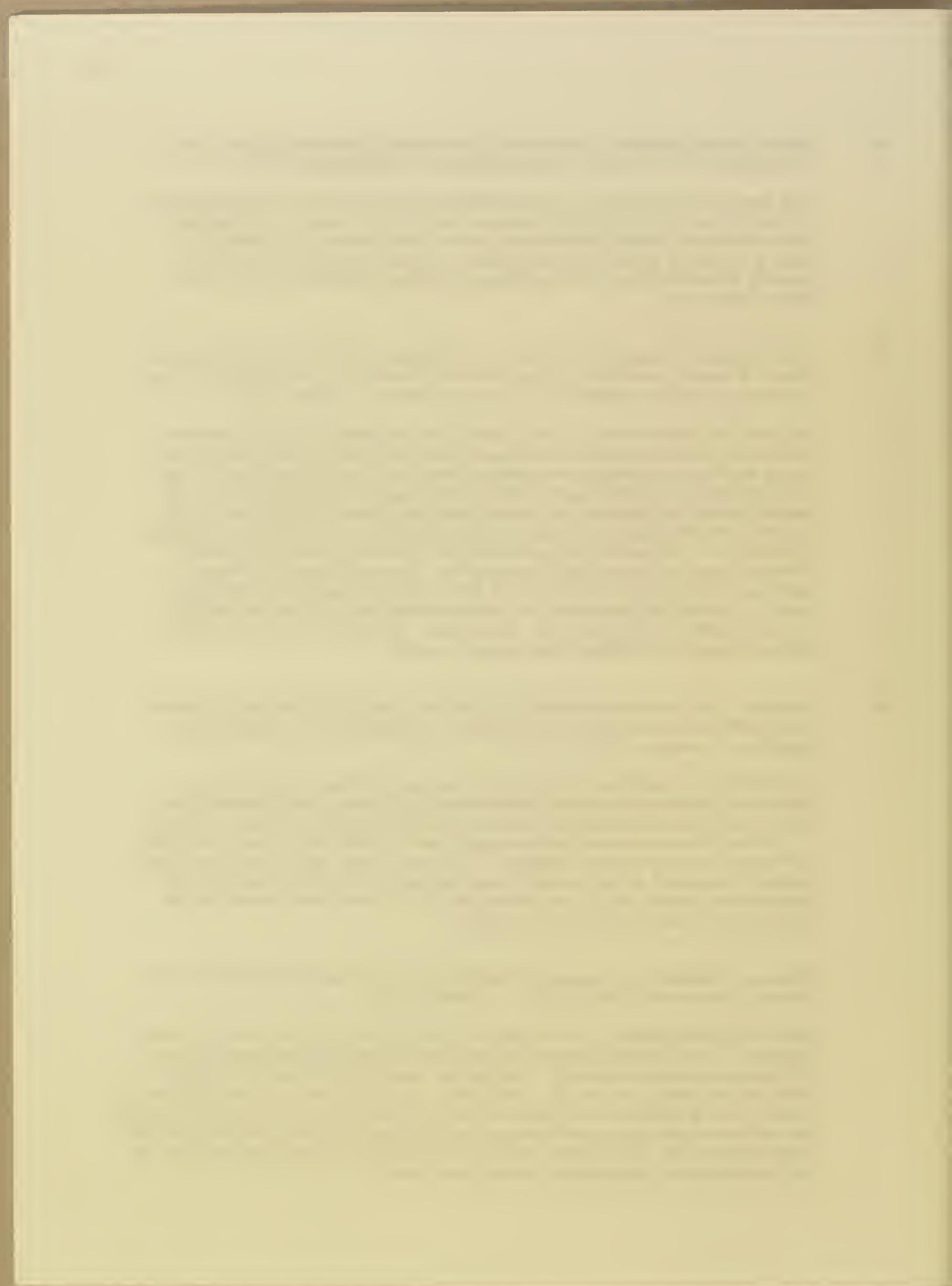
Not until the international trade in slaves was outlawed could any abolition movement be successful, and as England was the leading slave trading country as well as the dominant sea power of the world, effective initiative had to begin there. In 1788 English abolitionists began a campaign to have Parliament forbid English men and ships from participating in the slave trade. In 1790-1791 the House of Commons heard evidence on the motion of William Wilberforce. Parliament struggled with the motion for five years, but in 1796 the House of Lords finally defeated it. The abolitionists, however, continued to press for reform, and in 1807 a law was passed forbidding the trade. A law of 1811 declaring that slave trading was a felony punishable by "transportation" reinforced the earlier law. The law of 1811 proved effectual and brought the British slave trade to an end.

50. Antigua. An Act more effectually to provide...for the protection of slaves; to promote and encourage their increase, and generally to meliorate their condition. Antigua, 1799.

The effect of the abolition of the slave trade may be observed in this act passed and printed in the West Indian island of Antigua. The colonial legislature, motivated by the desire to have a continued supply of slaves, wished to "obviate the causes which hitherto may have impeded the natural increase of Negroes already in these Islands." They hoped that better conditions would promote the growth of the islands' slave population, on whom they would be dependent for future supply as termination of the slave trade would end the introduction of new slaves into the colony.

51. [Thomas Clarkson] An Essay On The Slavery And Commerce Of The Human Species, Particularly The African. London, 1786.

One of the most prolific and influential of the British abolitionists was Thomas Clarkson. As a graduate student he won the Cambridge Latin essay prize in 1785 with an essay on slavery. Writing the essay moved Clarkson deeply. He translated his essay and sought a publisher. He found one in James Phillips, a Quaker, who published it for him and also introduced him to like-minded people. His intense concern was instrumental in the formation of the committee for the suppression of the slave trade. He was indefatigable in gathering evidence for the Parliamentary investigation of the slave trade.



52. [Jean de Marsillac] Le More-Lack, Ou Essai Sur les moyens les plus doux & les plus équitables d'abolir la traite & l'esclavage des Nègres d'Afrique. Paris, 1789.

The abolitionist movement, propelled into activity in England by Clarkson, spread rapidly to Europe. In France an abolitionist organization called the Société des Amis des Noirs was formed in 1789. Jean de Marsillac, a medical doctor and a Quaker, was active in the Société and participated in the English movement as well. The More-Lack is one of the earliest of the numerous books published by the Société.

53. Scripture Evidence Of The Sinfulness Of Injustice And Oppression. London, 1828.

This selection of Biblical passages is one of thirty-one diverse antislavery tracts, broadsides, engravings, and pieces from newspapers bound into an album prepared by the Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves of Birmingham, England. After the laws against the slave trade had been passed, English abolitionists waged a highly successful and popularly based propaganda campaign to end slavery altogether. The Birmingham ladies even boycotted West Indian sugar in protest. In 1834 the campaign ended in triumph as Parliament passed a law which abolished slavery in all British dominions.

54. Thomas Clarkson. Afhandling om slaveriet och slafhandeln. Stockholm, 1796.

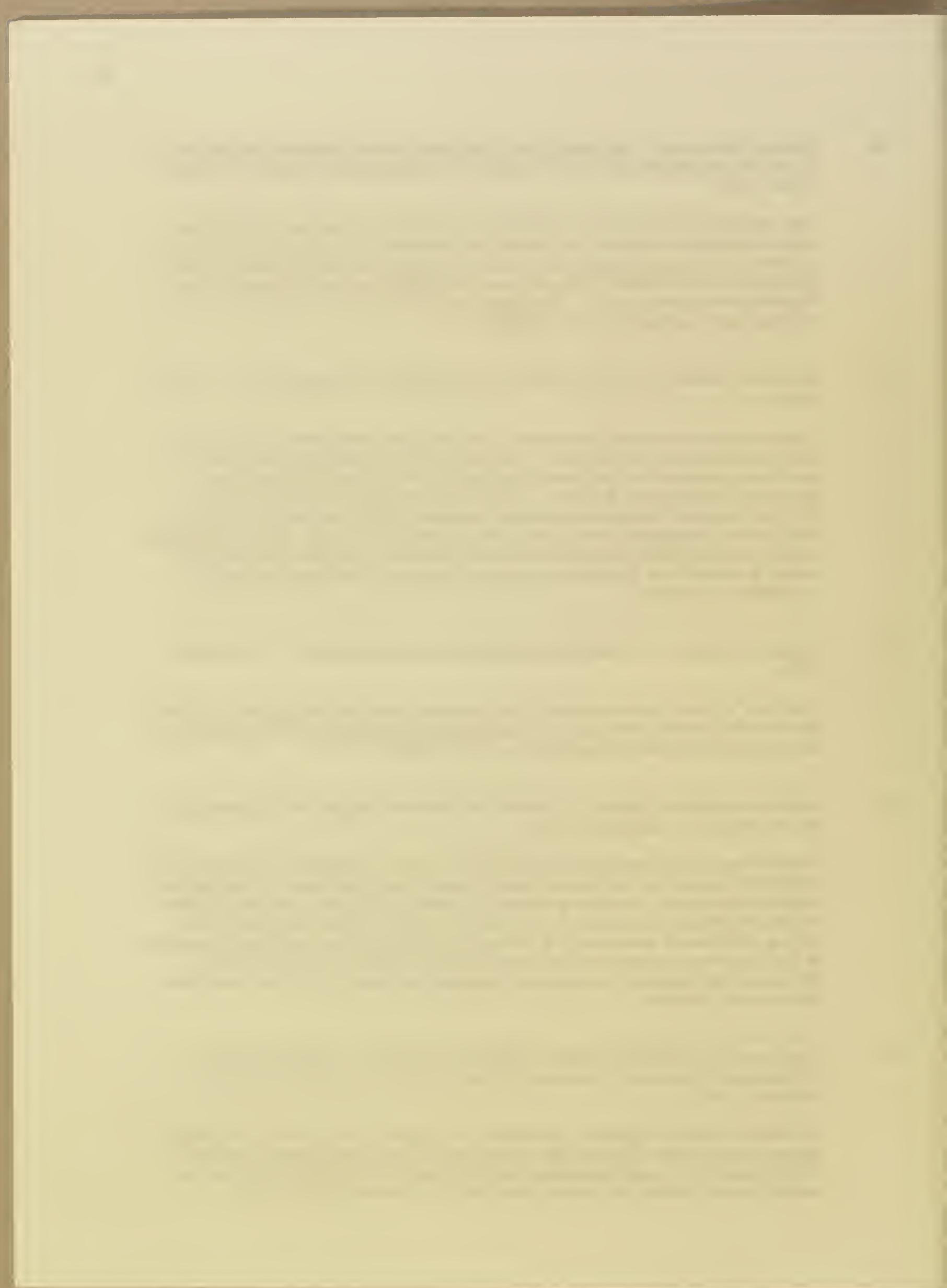
Clarkson's works were translated into various European languages. In addition to this Swedish translation of his Essay on the Slavery, the Library also has French and Spanish translations of his works.

55. Isidro de Antillon y Marzo. Disertacion Sobre el Origen De La Esclavitud de Los Negros. Mallorca, 1811.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century a secular abolitionist sentiment developed in Spain, the fortunes of which seem to parallel those of the Spanish Liberal Movement. Antillon y Marzo, a liberal journalist, had participated in the abolitionist movement for a number of years before publishing this strong abolitionist statement. It came at a time when the Napoleonic invasion of Spain allowed Liberals in the outer fringes of Spain--in Cadiz and the Mallorcias for example--to express opinions that would otherwise have been censured by Madrid.

56. João Severiano Maciel da Costa, Marquez de Queluz. Memoria Sobre A Necessidade De Abolir A Introdução Dos Escravos Africanos No Brasil. Coimbra, 1821.

Besides the moral arguments presented in his book, the Marquez de Queluz argues that slavery is wrong for Brazil because the agricultural system of which slavery is a part is ruinous for the country. He presents a plan that would free the slaves and would allow Brazil to develop industrially.



VIII - AFRICAN CULTURE IN THE AMERICAS

57. Sir Hans Sloane. *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica*, v. 1. London, 1707.

Sir Hans Sloane recorded much information about the Negro inhabitants of Jamaica. He noted of their music: "They have several sorts of instruments in imitation of lutes, made of small gourds fitted with necks..." (These are illustrated in Plate III of the *Voyage*.) He also arranged to record their music; this we show here.

"Upon one of their Festivals when a great many of the Negro Musicians were gathered together, I desired Mr. Baptiste, the best Musician there to take the Words they sung and set them to Musick, which follows.

"You must clap Hands when the Base is plaid, and cry, Alla, Alla."

58. "Idea De Las Congregaciones Publicas De Los Negros Bozales" in *Mercurio Peruano*, 16 June, 1791. [Lima, 1791]

The distinctive music of the Africans appealed greatly to Latin Americans. The author of this article, published in a very influential Peruvian periodical, cited the music of the slaves as an example of the rich culture of the African people. The author argued that such talented people deserved much greater humanitarian treatment than they were receiving in Peru. In making his point, the author described the characteristics of African music and how it was being incorporated into the popular music of Peru.

59. Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry. *Danse*. Philadelphia, 1796.

This book is about the dances of the Creoles and Negroes of Haiti. Based upon notes which Moreau had gathered during a long residence in Haiti and which were almost lost in Paris during the French Revolution, the book was published in Philadelphia where he had established a bookstore and printing press. He distinguishes between "The negroes of the Gold Coast, warlike, bloody, accustomed to human sacrifice, [who] know only dances as ferocious as themselves [and] those from the Congo, the Senegalese and other African Shepherds or Agricultural tribes [who] love dancing as a relaxation, as a source of sensual pleasure."



60. José de Agurto y Loaysa. *Villancicos, Que Se Cantaron En La Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Mexico.* Mexico, 1676.

Villancicos were rustic, unadorned, often humorous poems sung with the mass on certain holidays in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain. The form took on a new life and vitality in being carried to New Spain, much of which, as suggested by a number of the 42 new-world villancicos owned by the Library, was derived from an infusion of Negro music and poetry.

In the ninth villancico of this collection, dated 1670, there is an "Estrivillo, Negrilla" which begins: "1. Cumbe, cumbe, que Jolofo venimo, ye, ye,
2. Cumbé, cumbé, que a la Niña cantamo ye, ye..." etc., most suggestive of African rhythm.

We show the fifteenth number in the series, in which a black appears and is rejected because "this is a festival of lights...and it is not good to permit any black thing." The Negro answers that he is white because his soul is pure. And after some rhythmical play on the imagery, the poet accepts the Negro's argument.

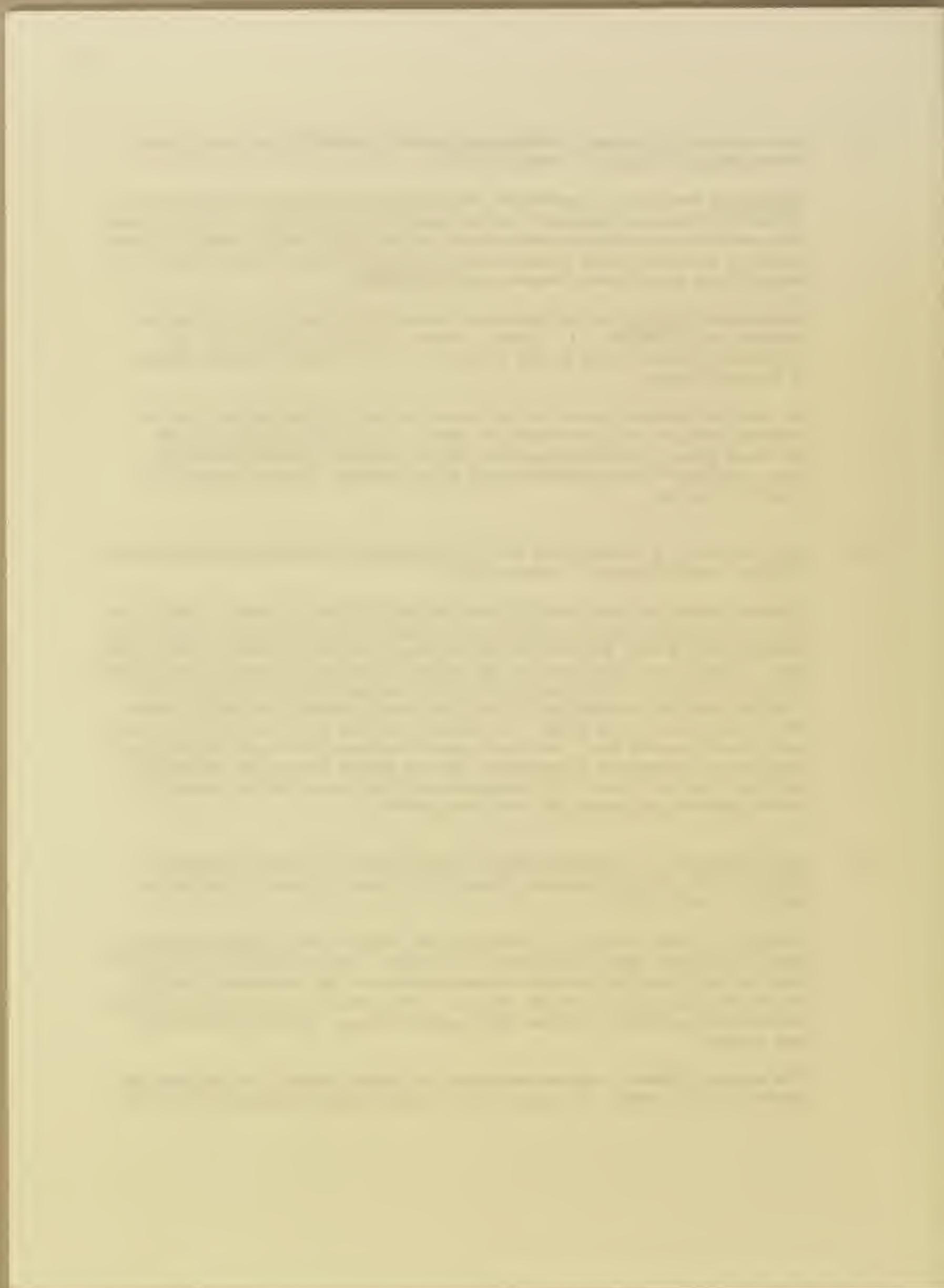
61. John Marrant. *A Narrative Of The Lord's wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black.* Second edition. London, 1785.

Colonial Americans loved stories about people captured by Indians. One of the three most popular Indian captivities was written by John Marrant, a free Negro who was born in New York and raised in Georgia and in Charleston, South Carolina. When he was about fourteen, he became a fanatical follower of the preacher George Whitefield. Wandering in the woods "singing hymns of praise to God," "musing upon the goodness of the Lord," he was accosted by an Indian hunter who asked where he was going. "I answered I did not know, but where the Lord was pleased to guide me." Marrant's story continues in this vein through his captivity and subsequent impressment into the British Navy at the beginning of the American Revolution. The combination of piety and adventure appealed to a wide audience and made this book a best seller.

62. Phillis Wheatley. *An Elegiac Poem, On the Death of...George Whitefield.* Boston [1770] *Phillis Wheatley. Poems On Various Subjects, Religious and Moral.* London, 1773.

Although no great claims can be made for the poetic value of Phillis Wheatley's work, her poems were well received in her time. Her remarkable achievement was that as a young girl she had learned English and had developed a facility for the language in only a couple of years. She wrote her first poem at thirteen and was only seventeen when her first published poem, on George Whitefield, was issued.

The wonder of Boston, she was welcomed by English literary circles when she made a trip to London. An edition of her collected poems was published there.



WALL PANELS

1. The asiento treaty negotiations produced an active debate in England. Many were concerned with the power that the asiento would give to the Royal African Company. None were concerned about African opinion. This panel shows eleven broadsides representing the spectrum of thought expressed during the debate.

[Charles Davenant] Several Arguments proving, that our Trade to Africa, cannot be preserved and carried on effectually by any other Method, than that of a considerable Joint-Stock, with exclusive Privileges. [London, 1711]

The Argument touching Security necessary to be given for carrying on the African Trade, demonstrated to be Groundless and Ridiculous. With Reasons against Confining any Part of the Trade to a Company Exclusive. [London, 1711]

Some Queries relating to the present Dispute about the Trade to Africa. [London, 1711]

Remarks Upon some Queries Handed about by the Separate Traders to Africa. [London, 1712?]

Some Considerations On the Late Act of Parliament, For Setling the Trade to Africa. [London, 1708]

Reasons Against Establishing an African Company at London. [London, 1711]

Resolutions of a General Court of the Adventurers of the Royal African Company. [London] 1713.

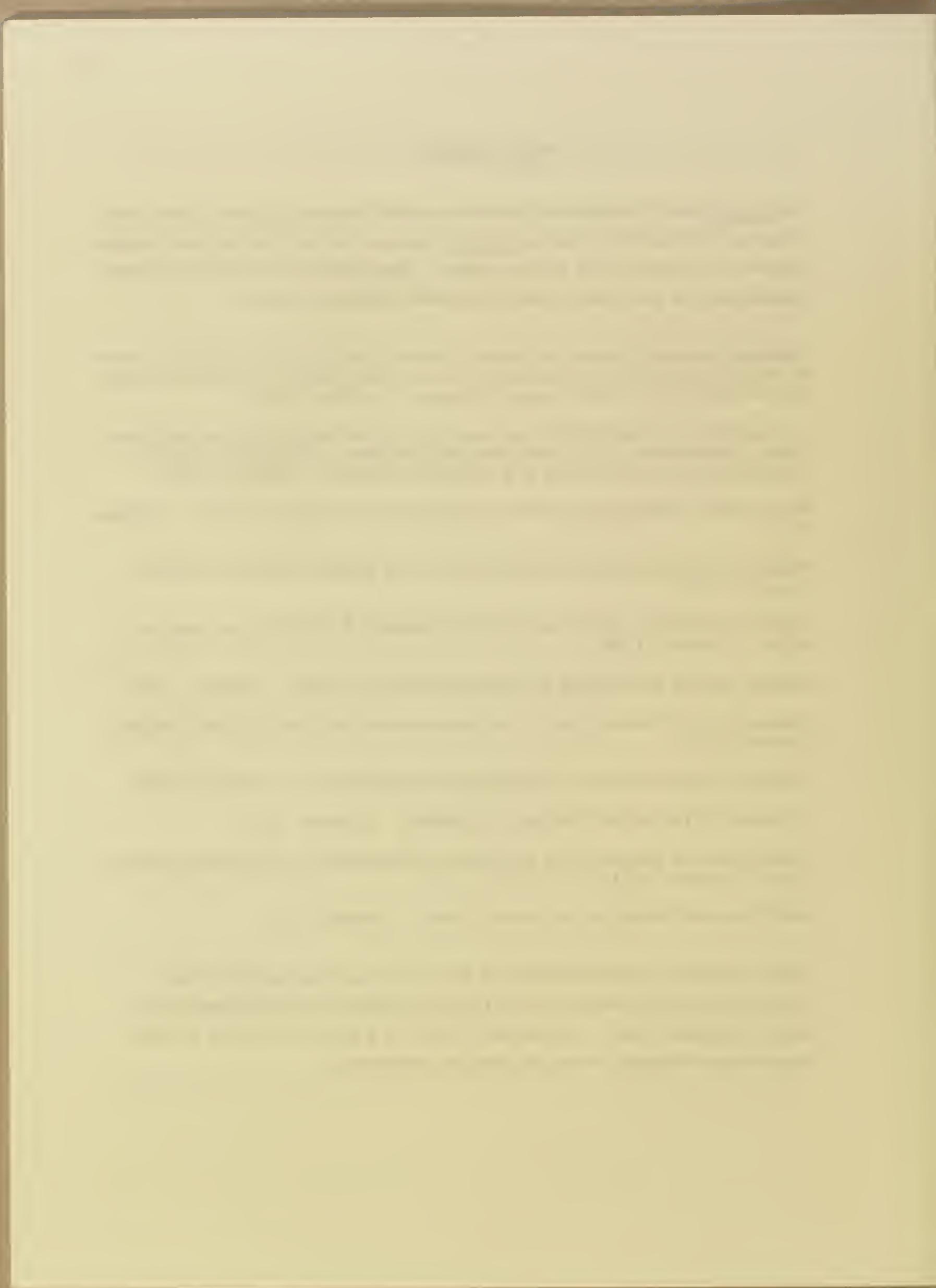
The Case Of The Creditors Of The Royal African-Company. [London, 1713]

A Defence Of The African Company's Creditors. [London, 1713]

A short and true Account of the Importance and Necessity, of settling the African Trade. [London, 1711]

Short Remarks Relating to the African Trade. [London] 1711.

2. These broadsides and broadsheets (six from Lisbon and one printed in Rio de Janeiro) are representative of the Library's collection of Portuguese slave laws in broadside form. The Brazilian imprint is a copy of the treaty in which Great Britain attempted to end the Brazilian slave trade.



Tratado da abolição do Trafico de Escravos em todos os lugares da Costa de Africa ao Norte do Equador, entre os muito altos, e muito poderosos senhores o Principe Regente de Portugal, e El Rey do Reino Unido da Grande Bretanha e Irlanda: feito em Vienna pelos plenipotenciarios de huma e outra Corte em 22 de Janeiro de 1815, e ratificado por ambas. Rio de Janeiro, 1815.

Conde da Ponte, Governador e Capitão General da Capitania da Bahia, Amigo. Eu o Principe Regente vos Envio muito saudar, como aquelle que Amo. Tendo-me representado a Meza da Inspecção dessa Capitania os graves inconvenientes, que resultão ao Commercio da mesma, de serem obrigados as Embarcações empregados na condução da Escravatura da Costa da Mina... [Lisbon, 1808]

José I. Eu El Rei. Faço saber aos que este meu Alvará... que sendo me presente em Consulta do meu Conselho Ultramarino a grande desordem, com que no Brasil se estaõ extrahindo, passando negros para os Domindos... [Lisbon, 1751]

José I. Ley, em que se accrelcentaõ as penas impostas contra os mulatos, e pretos escravos do Brasil, que uzarem de armas prohibidas. De 24 de Janeiro de 1756. [Lisbon, 1756]

Maria I. Ampliando o que se acha determinado por Decreto de [19 October 1798]: Sou Servida, que a isenção de Direitos... dos Escravos remettidos de Angola para o Pará... [Lisbon, 1799]

José I. Eu El Rey. Faço saber aos que este Alvará com força de Ley virem, que sendo informado dos muitos, e grandes inconvenientes, que resultaõ do excesso, e devassidaõ, com que contra as Leys, e costumes de outras Cortes polidas se transporte annualmente da Africa, America, e Asia, para estes Reinos hum taõ extraordinario numero de escravos Pretos... [Lisbon, 1761]

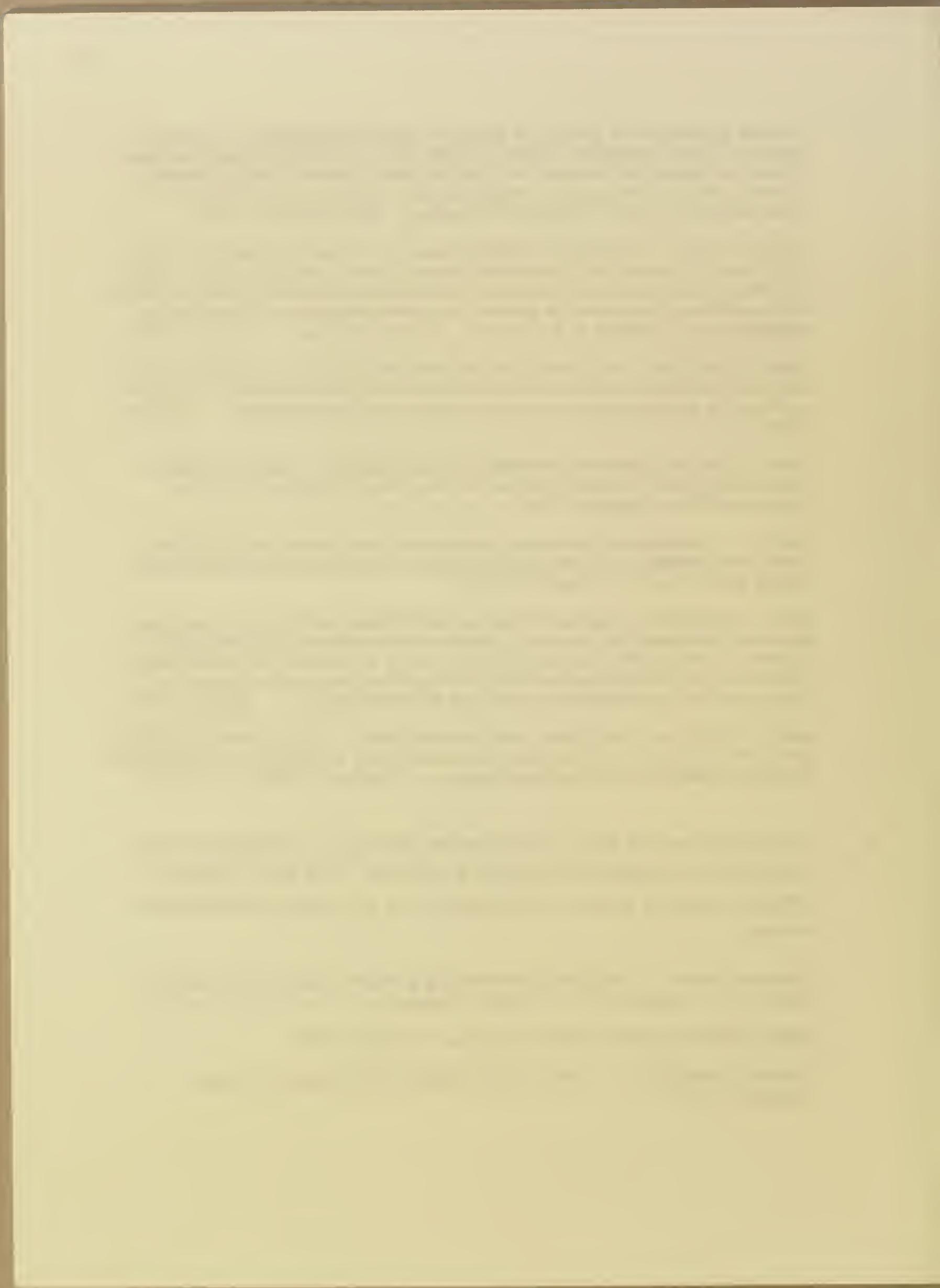
José I. Eu El Rey. Faço saber aos que este Alvará... Que, havendo ocorrido pelo outro Alvará de 11 do corrente aos monopolios, e vexações, que padeciaõ os meus Vassallos, moradores em Angola... [Lisbon, 1758]

3. On this panel are five prints and a broadside illustrating some aspects of the social life and conditions of the British West Indies. They show a variety of attitudes toward the problem of the islands in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Abraham Brunias. This Plate (representing a Negroes Dance in the Island of Jamaica)... London, 1779. Colored lithograph.

Johnny New-Come in the Island of Jamaica. London, 1800.

Frederick Maitland. ... View of Fort George, in the Island of Tobago. [London] 1793.



[Hannah More] The Sorrows Of Yamba. [London, 1795] Broadside.

Abraham Brunias. This Plate (representing a Cudgelling Match between English and French Negroes in the Island of Dominica)... London, 1779. Colored lithograph.

Cruelty & Oppression Abroad. London, 179-.

4. This panel displays an equestrian portrait of Toussaint l'Ouverture and three broadsides printed in revolutionary Haiti.

Toussaint Louverture Chef des Noirs Insurgés de Saint Domingue. Paris [ca. 1800] Line engraving colored.

San Domingo. Assemblée générale. Extrait Des Registres... De la séance du 9 septembre 1791... Cap, 1791.

France. Commission Civile. ... Au nom de la république... [Saint-Marc, 1793]

Toussaint L'Ouverture. Proclamation... Toussaint Louverture, Général en chef de l'Armée de Saint-Domingue, A ses Concitoyens de la ville du Cap... Cap-François [1797]

5. James II. At the Court of Whitehall. London, 1686.

The rapid growth of the English colonies (or plantations) in America caused severe labor shortages in the seventeenth century. This broadside proclamation by the king of England concerns "the hiring of servants for his majesties plantations." It attacks "the frequent abuses of a lewd sort of people, called spirits, in seducing many of His Majesties Subjects to go on shipboard, where they have been seized, and carried by force to His Majesties plantations in America." The proclamation was first published in 1682, and its reiteration suggests that the "spirits" had persisted. One can imagine what abuses the "lewd sort of people, called spirits" may have committed in Africa where the king's law did not apply.

France. Assemblée nationale. Loi Portant que tout homme est libre en France, & que, quelleque soit sa couleur, il y jouit de tous les droits de Citoyen. Paris, 1791.

This law by the revolutionary Assemblée nationale proclaims what was in fact already the case in France: that all men in France are free and that men of all colors enjoy the full rights of citizenship.



Christian VII. Forordning om Neger-Handelen. Copenhagen, 1792.

For a number of years St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands was the world's largest slave market. By this decree of 16 March, 1792, the king of Denmark forbade importation of slaves to the island.

[Lesueur, Jean François] The Wretched Slave. New York [1797]

This song is taken from the opera Paul and Virginia, which itself is based on Jacques Henri de Saint-Pierre's novel Paul et Virginie, published in 1789. His sentimental novel, set on the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, was a favorite in the nineteenth century. This song introduced into the American opera version a note of sympathy for slaves not found in the original.

6. Pierre Jacques Benoit's watercolored lithographs prepared for his *Voyage à Surinam: description des possessions néerlandaises*. Brussels, 1839.

These lithographs display aspects of Negro life in Dutch Surinam in the early nineteenth century.

